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to set on the sloping walls. In localities where sand blew about, the houses soon became drifted over and resembled sand dunes. 342

The entrance invariably faced the east. It made no difference what was the nature of the terrain about the house site, this was its invariable orientation. This, rationalization had it, was because the culture hero had built the first house in this fashion. [173] As a matter of fact, as Russell remarks of the Pima living but a few miles away in the same sandy waste: [132]

> A more practical motive for placing the doors on the east side is to avoid the southwest winds which blow in the afternoon during nearly the entire year and which are especially strong during the month of March. The wind usually begins to blow at about 10 in the morning and increases to a velocity of 10 miles an hour by mid-afternoon, after which it decreases until midnight.[1]

So strong is the old habit of orientation that of sixteen present-day houses counted on the reservation (mostly of the jacal type), only four faced other than due east, and of these four, three are modern frame houses.

The doorway was narrow and low; so low that one had to stoop to enter (about three feet high or little more). As most houses, at least the smaller ones, had no smoke-hole, this was the only egress for smoke. [354] They must have been densely filled with smoke except for a few feet above the floor.

The doorway of most houses was left unprotected, but those who were more particular built a sort of porch. Two forked posts were erected immediately in front of the entrance but on either side, and a stringer was laid between them. Bundles of arrow-weeds were placed from this stringer to the sloping wall above the entrance and others were set upright on each side between post and wall. Dirt was spread on top of this entry.

A door was made by hanging a thick willow bark or rabbit [287] [281] skin blanket in the opening. It was let down at night and in the morning thrown back over the house. More recently a door was made of parallel bundles of wheat straw lashed to willow poles at each end and in the middle. Not every house had a door.

The interior arrangement of the house was simple: there were neither partitions nor furniture. 352 The fire was in the center, un- [354]

[1] *Pima Indians*, p. 154.

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a stout willow bark cord rolled on the thigh. This was tied at one side at the hip. Belts of human hair, their own or enemies', known to the Yokuts and in southern California,[7] were not used. 291

The woman's fringed skirt was also of willow bark. It descended to mid-calf, hanging free in a thick bushy mass covering the thighs as fully as the front and buttocks. In other words it was in no sense two aprons as among the generality of Basin and Californian peoples. The thighs were covered at all times.[8] A belt, a cord of this bark rolled on the thigh, formed a foundation over which one end of each strand was doubled. In a specimen[9] made by Last Star (Pl. IV, *b*) these strands are held in place by two willow bark cords twined through them immediately below the belt or foundation cord. At each end the twined cords are crossed and tied to the belt-foundation in a square knot. By this twining the bark strands are pulled together as closely as possible. Kutox described an alternative method for fastening them: a cord sewed through them close to the belt cord. Since informants spoke of the skirt as woven on a belt-foundation, it may well be that several such strands were placed close to the belt. At least, the fringes hung free in a bushy mass, neither twisted, rolled, nor knotted together. These strips of willow bark were narrow, string-like, not broad like those seen among the lower Colorado tribes. Women did not use an additional belt to secure their skirts.

Under the skirt was worn a little apron in front and another behind. These were fabrics of cottontail rabbit skin or fine willow bark closely woven, about ten inches wide, sixteen or more inches long. These correspond to the small under-apron worn by the Havasupai women.[10] [281] [171]

Bartlett, on the other hand, mentioned only skirts of cotton cloth. "The women fold the smaller blankets or other cloths, and pass them around their loins, letting them hang to their knees. They are sometimes fastened with one of the 175 291

[7] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 840.

[8] In contrast, I was told, Yuma women's skirts were scanty on the outside of the thighs.

[9] Peabody Museum, Yale University, No. 19078.

[10] Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 188.

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291 [175] belts before mentioned [woven bands, three or four inches broad], but are generally kept in place by simply tucking one end in."[21] Font, as we noted above, saw skin skirts in use as well.

28 29 Robes used in winter were rabbit skin capes and cotton blankets. The latter were never cut nor woven with a slit, poncho-like. Bartlett and Font mention only cotton and woolen blankets. The rabbit skin cape (kwĭlŭ'l), made by both Maricopa and Halchidhoma, was rectangular and came only to the waist or a little below. (When plenty of skins were available, this was made longer and served as a blanket as well. But such blankets were seldom used; pelts never.) The rabbit skins were cut spirally into strips, which were wound along thin sticks so as to dry as spiral cords. Old women made these capes. The worker tied one end of a rolled willow bark cord to her toe and the other end around her waist, to serve as a taut foundation for the fabric. One end of each skin strip was lapped over this cord: when the strip was long, it was doubled back to pass over the cord again. These strips were then fastened by a second cord, set close to the foundation cord, which was wound once around each successive strip and its short lapped end. At intervals of a hand's span other cords were twined through the pendent strips parallel to the foundation cord.

[115] [286] A "woven" (probably twined) willow bark robe was also worn, according to Kutox. Last Star emphatically denied its existence. It was rectangular, not square; a span in length, and hung almost to the ankles behind. Loose ends of the fabric tied together in front of the breast served to hold it on, no belt being used. Those of men and women were alike.

291 Little children wore nothing. When they were seven to nine years old, the breechclout and bark skirt were adopted. Somewhat earlier a little rabbit skin blanket might be tied about their middles, but such covering was given girls rather than boys. Bartlett remarked, "Although the men and boys go naked, I never saw a girl, however young, without clothes around its hips similar to those worn by the women."[22]

292 [484] Sandals were worn by both sexes only when travelling. At

[21] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 224, 228.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

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home they went barefoot, as they do today. Moccasins have never been used. Sandals were formerly woven of willow bark, but since the acquisition of cattle, rawhide has been the favored material. Woven sandals were said to have come over the top of the foot and to have looked somewhat like shoes, hence they may have resembled the slipper-like forms of the Paviotso.[13] The manner in which these were fastened is somewhat obscure: it seems that a twisted willow bark string was laced through loops all around the foot and then carried back and forth over the instep from loop to loop. The rawhide sandal was slightly larger than the sole of the foot (Pl. XIV, *e*).[14] A separate piece of rawhide was inserted through slits under the arch of the foot, the ends of which came up on each side to take the heel-strap. These cuts were not made vertically, but with the knife held obliquely (i.e., with its handle inclining toward the margin of the sandal), in order that the thin edges of the slits might lie flat on the inserted strip. The position of these slits was one finger length from the rear end of the sandal: this was gauged by inserting the rear end between the fingers. The sandal was held on by two thongs, knotted beneath the sole at the toes and passing, one between the big toe and the first, the other between the middle toe and the third. In the several specimens seen the first of these was a rawhide thong, the latter a rolled cord of willow bark or cloth. These passed in back of the heel where they were permanently bound into the heel strap. The latter was a cord or thong passing back and forth behind the heel between the two ends of the rawhide strip that went under the arch, and wound with the soft inner bark of the willow to prevent chafing. Sandals were moderately valuable, because one could not travel far without them. An old woman from whom I bought a pair, her only footgear, brought them, repeating somewhat humorously, "Oh, my precious feet (i.e., the sandals)! I have to part with them."

Crude leggings were also worn by men. These were broad

[13] Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, p. 218.

[14] Washington State Museum, No. 2-11878.

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The rectangular baskets with lids in twilled, plaited weave and the sleeping mats made by the Pima[19] were not among Maricopa products. 285

VARIOUS TECHNIQUES AND TOOLS

Skin dressing.—Hides seem to have been but little used, not so much because deer and fur-bearing animals were rare, or that they were indifferent hunters, but because few articles were made of dressed skin. Correlatively the skin dressing process was rudimentary. Here again their habits coincide with the lower Colorado tribes. The upland tribes of Arizona were proficient workers in skins, those of the Colorado-Gila lowlands were not. 281 [171]

The uses of hides were few: the only uses cited were thongs, quiver, and shield. Rawhide sandals have come into use since cattle were obtained. [177]

A deer carcass was flayed by slitting down the belly from the neck, cutting along the inside of each leg, leaving the hoofs, but taking the head skin.

To tan the hide (k'wĭl,a), the flesh side was spread with parched seeds of the giant cactus fruit (the residue after a drink was made from it) and the skin folded with the flesh side in. This was to absorb the grease (?). When opportunity came to work the skin, it was first soaked in water. It was then slung over a smooth slanting pole and the flesh side scraped with a sharpened stick, not a stone. The hair was probably removed with a split bone scraper. The hide was then pounded with a stone while lying folded on a flat rock, available only in the mountains. When it was soft, it was further worked by rubbing with the hands. My informant had heard that deer brains were sometimes used for tanning. Pumpkin seeds were not used, as by the Cocopa, nor were skins smoked or dyed. Skins were also tanned with the hair on: fox, coyote, wolf, and mountain lion. (There were no bears in Maricopa territory.) Skin dressing (k'wĭ'ltà-mavĭstcu'm, "hide softening") was the work of men alone. [412] [136] [462]

Willow bark blankets may have been made, but it is very doubtful. Kutox described these, called xacĭl,ĕ'p, as made by 286

[19] Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 134, 145, 147.

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were trimmed parallel to the shaft, and were not cut serrate. The shaft was ordinarily painted red for half its length from the nock end, but some drew zigzag lines on it with their finger tips dipped in paint.

Quivers were of deerhide or a fox skin with its tail pendent; in fact, any skin, such as mountain lion, might be used. In this some twenty arrows were carried. It was tied to the belt in back with the mouth at the left floating ribs. In contrast, my informant pointed out, the Yuma slung it low on the left thigh, the Yavapai carried it on the back pointing over the left shoulder. ("They [the latter] were always creeping along.")

A bowguard was worn on the wrist of the bow-hand. Nothing could be ascertained beyond that it was of deerhide, laced with thongs. When they dressed for a dance, they wore this as an ornament (as the Navaho still do); a broad band with fringes hanging, by which girl partners would hold.

Poison was always applied to war arrows, it was said, but the "poison" (matâpu'i) was jackrabbit blood and nothing more! "The jackrabbit is closely related to the cottontail. The latter was bitten by the rattlesnake at the creation, hence the jackrabbit contains the poison."[35] Hunting arrows were not poisoned.

Clubs were made of mesquite and ironwood, and were for use only in warfare. The conventional form had a cylindrical head with a long straight handle, sizable for gripping, in one piece; the whole about eighteen inches long. A specimen, made under the direction of old Kutox by his grandson, has an elongated knob head which only approximates this shape (Pl. XIII, *e*). It is also provided with a wrist loop tied in a groove encircling the tip.[36] Another, made by Charlie Redbird, has the same shape. This is generically the "potato-masher" type of the Pima and Mohave[37] but without the sharp contours. But the Maricopa, seizing the enemy by the hair, always used it with a downward smashing stroke at the temple, not punching upward as the Mohave habit. A straight club of the same length was also carried to be used

[35] See p. 348. [36] Washington State Museum, No. 2–11916.

[37] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 96; Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 751.

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411 713 should the mallet be lost to the enemy. Only the bravest and most agile warriors carried clubs alone. They were provided with small shields for parrying. According to the Halchidhoma Kutox, his people did not use the long pole-like clubs of other lower Colorado Yumans, at least not normally.

281 411 713 The shield in use was a small circular affair of skin, sixteen to eighteen inches in diameter; originally of deerskin but for a long time made of cowhide. This size provided protection only for the heart, they held. The hide was laid flat on the ground so that a disk could be cut from it, using a tray basket to mark out the circle. This was buried in ashes until soft, placed on a smooth spot, trod on to work out the wrinkles, and scraped clean. A specimen made for me has two disks laced together around the periphery with a thong.[38] Two short thongs were knotted through near the center to hold them together. Two others were provided to hold a hand grip at the center: a piece of wood covered with hide (Pl. XIII, *b*, *c*). A thong loop was fastened at two points near one edge so that the shield could be slung around the neck, lying under the left arm, or in retreat on the back. No feathers were tied to the shield.

411 531 713 The face of the shield bore painted decoration. Kutox described a common design as quartering the face by a cross, each arm of which consisted of a black, a white, and a red stripe. Within each quarter was a circle, each composed of three circles of the same colors placed concentrically. His grandson made the shield figured under his direction. While intended to have this design, it differs in that the cross is solid black, the concentric circles, one of red within a white; the thong lacing around the edge is painted red. Another design known to him was made by covering the palm with black or red paint, running the heel of the hand across the shield and putting the finger tips down. Four of these units covered the face of the shield. Particular designs bore no names.

[171] Both the construction of the shield and the manner of its decoration was identical with that of the Pima.[39]

[38] Washington State Museum, No. 2–11917.

[39] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 120.